# THE ORTHOGRAPHY OF THE SAMARQAND CODEX

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THE LIBRARY of Columbia University has recently acquired a copy of the Pissareff photographic reproduction of the famous Samarqand Codex of the Qur'an<sup>1</sup>, which has made it possible for the writers to take up the long overdue task of a re-examination of the text of this unusually important Codex.

This Codex was introduced to the attention to the learned world in 1870 by a notice in Petzholdt's *Neuer Anzeiger für Bibliographie und Bibliothekswissenschaft*, where, in the number for that year, on p. 372 we read -

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hat die kaiserliche öffentliche Bibliothek von dem General-Gouverneur von Turkestan, Generaladjutanten v. Kaufmann in Samarkand, ein sehr werthvolles Geschenk, nämlich einen alten bisher in der Moschee Chodscha - Achrar aufbewahrten Koran in kufischer Schrift ohne Punkte und Vocalzeichen, erhalten, der über 1200 Jahre alt und von Osman selbst geschrieben sein soll.

The local legend regarding this Codex is that it was brought to Samarqand by Khoja Akhrar himself when he removed there from Tashkent, and when his Mosque was built there this venerable Codex was placed therein. Khoja Akhrar, whose real name, it seems, was 'Ubaidallah, lived in Tashkent in the latter half of the fifteenth century and was, towards the end of his life, the local Pir of the Nakshbandiyya Order of Dervishes. His possession of the Codex was due to a disciple of his Order, who, after accomplishing the duties of the Pilgrimage to Mecca, decided to extend his journey to Constantinople and return home from there. While in Constantinople it so happened that by the use of a prayer taught him by his Pir, he was instrumental in curing the Caliph of that day of a dread disease. In gratitude for the cure the Caliph offered him anything he might choose to take from the Treasury. He chose the ancient Our'an said to have belonged to the third Caliph Uthman, and indeed to have been the copy which he was reading when he was murdered, the stains of his blood being visible on the pages which were open at the moment the murderers attacked him. This precious volume he brought with him to Tashkent, where for many years it was exhibited as an object for the veneration of pious Muslims, but when the head of the Fraternity removed to Samarqand the Codex accompanied him there. In the Khoja's Mosque at Samarqand it lay in public and was stroked and kissed by the pious as a source of blessing<sup>2</sup>.

Von Kaufmann's letter which accompanied the gift to the Imperial Library in St. Petersburg has been preserved, and gives an account of the acquisition of the MS. It is addressed to the Minister of Public Instruction, and is accompanied by two depositions made by the Ulama' at the Khoja Alkrar Mosque.

Chancellery of the Governor General of Turkestan, Division-24th October 1869. Journal: No.182. City of Samarqand.

His Excellency, the Minister of Public Instruction.

The Commander of the Zariavshansky District has handed over to me a Qur'an, written on parchment in Kufic characters without diacritical points or vowels, which previously was in the possession of the Mosque of Khoja Akhrar in Samarqand. Being aware of the great value of this Qur'an, and its sacredness in the eyes of the Muslims, Major General Abramov commissioned the Commander of the Samarqand District, Lieutenant Colonel Sierov, to investigate whether the acquisition by us of that manuscript would in any way violate the religious susceptibilities of the community. The 'Ulama' of the Mosque and certain honourable citizens testified:

- 1) that this Qur'an, though it was permanently deposited in the Mosque of Khoja Akhrar, did not really belong to it, but was regarded as the possession of the Crown, being the property of the Emir of Bokhara.
- 2) that this Qur'an is at present of no importance either to the Muslim community or to the Mosque. Formerly (indeed, very long ago) it used to attract many worshipers, but lately only the Emirs arriving at Samarqand have worshiped before it.
- 3) that nobody is able to read it, and that for many years it has been lying around without any use.

Thereupon Major General Abramov received the book, and in return for it donated from his own money 500 kokans (100 roubles), with which the clergy of Samarqand were completely satisfied.

In view of the fact that such a book may, from a bibliographical point of view, be of great value to the scholarly world, I hasten to send the Qur'an thus acquired to your Excellency, together with the depositions of the two 'Ulema' of the Mosque of Khoja Akhrar, Mullah Abdul Jalil and Mullah Mughin Mufti, as arranged by me, describing the origin of the Qur'an and how it came to the Mosque of Akhrar, and I humbly ask you, Sir, to deliver the book with the enclosed depositions, in my name, as a gift to the Imperial Library.

Signed-Adjutant General von Kaufmann. Countersigned-Director of Chancellery Major General Gomzin. Correct: Secretary Diakov.

The accompanying depositions of the two Mullahs give the story as outlined above, and repeat the claim that it was the Qur'an of 'Uthman. As a goodly number of other Qur'ans, however, have at various times turned up in different parts of the Islamic world, all purporting to show the traces of the blood of the third Caliph 'Uthman upon certain pages, and thus be the genuine 'Uthmanic Codex, the Imam, which he was reading at the time of his death, this may only be pious legend first invented for this particular Codex at Samarqand itself. That it came there from Constantinople, is not however, unlikely.

In 1891 in Vol. VI of the *Zapiski Vostochnago Otdieleniia Imperatorskago Russkago Archeologicheskago Obshchestva* (St. Petersburg, 1892) pp. 63-133, A. Shebunin gave an account of the examination of the peculiarities of its orthography. The publication of this article gave rise to a great deal of discussion as to the relationship of the text represented in this Codex to that in the ordinary lithographed editions in use throughout the Muslim world.

So great indeed was the interest excited that in 1905 S. Pissareff was encouraged to publish a facsimile edition, which he did by photographic process after having carefully inked in those places on some of the folios where the writing had been almost obliterated by the greasy hands of the faithful stroking the pages to secure blessing. Only fifty copies of this facsimile seem to have been made, of which only twenty-five were offered for sale (Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, X, No. 94). The reproduction is printed on *papier d'ivoire* 50 cm x 67 cm with all the decorations of the original reproduced in colour. The title-page reads-

Coran Coufique de Samarcand érit d'après la tradition de la propre main du troisième calife Osman (644-656), qui se trouve dans la Bibliothèque Impèriale publique de St Petersbourg. Edition faite avec l'autorisation de l'Institut archéologique de St Petersbourg, par S. Pissareff. St Petersbourg, 1905. (Facsimile.)

Muslim savants have frequently asserted that Pissareff in his reinking of the dulled folios deliberately made alterations in the text, but an examination of the facsimile shows that while some mistakes due to ignorance have been made here and there in the process of reinking, there are no adequate grounds for this charge of deliberate alteration.

When Shebunin made his study of the orthography of the Codex he used Flügel's Quran as his standard for the text, and the first edition of Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorans* as his authority for the older Kufic form of text. There was, of course, nothing else for him to do, for the *Muqni* of ad-Dani had not then been printed, even Musa Jarullah's text of the 'Aqila of ash-Shatibi was only published at Kazan in 1903, and the oriental lithographs of the Qur'an available to him differed so much among themselves in matters of orthography, that though they might have been preferable to Flügel, in that they did offer some consistent form of Oriental tradition, Shebunin had nothing to guide him in his choice among them. At present however, we are in a better position, and so in 1926, when publishing the first fasciculus of the third part of the new edition of Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorans*, Bergsträsser announced his intention of taking up a fresh examination of the Samarqand Codex in the light of our more advanced knowledge of the early Qur'anic orthography<sup>3</sup>. His untimely death left this, as so many other promised studies, uncompleted, and it is a peculiar pleasure to be able in this present study to carry to completion a plan that he had long had in mind.

Unfortunately we are now dependent entirely on the Pissareff facsimile, as the original Codex has disappeared. Indian Muslims had been much angered at the attention given to this Codex and is supposed deviations from the standard text, and had made many attempts to have the Codex given back to the Muslim community. In 1917 they succeeded in getting the consent of the Bolshevik leaders to the return of the Codex to its former resting place, and somewhat later it was handed over to the Muslim leaders in Petrograd for transmission to Samarqand. In Vol. LI of the *Revue du Monde mussulman* (1922) p. 10 we find the notice:-

Restitution aux musulmanes du Coran d'Osman.

Et pour mieux attirer les bonnes dispositions du monde musulman, le Gouvernement bolsheviste, par decret du 9 décembre 1917 (No 6 art. 103), ordonnait de restituer au Congres regionale des Musulmanes de Petrograd qui en avait fait la demande le Coran très sacré d'Osman, qui avait autrefois été deposé à la Bibliothèque nationale de Pétrograd apres son transfert do Samarkande.

Since then nothing has been heard of it. Musa Jarullah in a private letter informs us that he has heard of it being seen at Tashkent, its original home, but it has been impossible to get confirmation of this rumour. 'Abdallah az-Zandjani, on the other hand, in his *Tarikh al-Quran*, p. 46 (Cairo, 1936), asserts that it was taken from Petrograd to England and stored there, but one may suspect that this is merely a confusion with the transfer to the British Museum of the Codex Sinaiticus<sup>4</sup>.

From the Pissareff facsimile and the article of Shebunin in the *Zapiski*, however, since Shebunin's study, which was made from the actual text of the Codex before it had been retouched, enables us to correct in places mistaken reinkings, we can make with fair success the needed re-examination.

Originally the Codex was a complete Qur'an, written on thick, strong parchment folios averaging 68 x 53 cm in size, with the written portion averaging 50 x 44 cm. Only 353 folios were left, however, when General von Kaufmann secured the Codex, and of these only fifteen were quite whole without any paper mending, viz. folios 210, 214, 215, 218-220, 232-235, 237, 238, 240, 243 and 246. Many folios had been damaged by dampness, and others were worn, and had been mended with paper, a thick, soft cotton-paper, which looks very much like parchment. Sixty-nine folios, which were missing entirely, had been replaced by folios made of this paper. The portions of the text which survive in the Codex are -

Ff.	Sūrah	From verse	to Verse
1-32	II al-Baqarah	7/6 wa lahum	177/172 bi Hahi
33-34		179/175 hāyāt	187/183 'uhilla
35		213/209 Allahu'lladhina	217/214 wa'l-masjidi'l-haram.
36		231 dirāran	233 rizquhum
37-42		256/257 bi't-taghūt	273/274 fa'inna'llaha
43-45		282 ya'ayyuha	end of Sürah.
46-57	III Al Imran	36/31 Maryama	92/86 hatta
58		97/91 sabilan	102/97 Allāba
59-67		105/101 lahum	148/141 Allahu thawah
68-89		154/148 fi buyütikum IV an Nisā"	29/33 takūna.
90-92	IV an-Nisā'	33/37 'aqadat	43/46 aw'ala
93-94		72/74 minkum	77/79 ittaqā
95-97		81/83 barazû	90/92 us-salama
98-112		92/94 mu'mimatin wa'in.	145/144 id-darki
113-189	V Al-Mā'idah	85/88 al-muhsinīn VII al-A'rāf	106/103 qāla 'in
190-204	XI Had	47/49 'a'ūdhu	121/122 lā
205	XII Yūsuf	19 bidā'atan	23 ma'adha
206	XIV Ibrāhim	39/41 li'llahi	44/46 'aqsamtum
207-213	XV al-Ḥijr	7 bi'l-malā'ikati	86 ul-'alimu
214-229	XVI an Nahl	7 'illa	101/103 wa idha
230	77-00-00-00-00-00-00-00-00-00-00-00-00-0	114/115 fa kulū	119/120 dhālika
231-236	XVII al-Isră	Bismillah	48/51 al-'amthāla
237-257		56/58 ad-durri XVIII Kahf	77/76 fiha
258-260	XVIII Kahf	82/81 wa ma	105 waznan
261-265	XIX Maryam	3/2 Khafiyyan	44/45 ta'budi

Ff.	Sūrah	From	m verse	to V	erse *
266-286		52/53	min XX TaHa	135	mutarabbiş
287-290	XXVI ash-Shu'ra'	63	fa'nfalaga	117	'inna
291	Anti and carre	130	wa 'idha	142	șāliḥ
292-295		155	vaumin	202	ía ya'tiyahum
296-299	XXVII an-Nami	400	Bismillah	22	bi mā
300	AATH dham	28	fa 'algih	34	'a'izzata
301-306		44	hasibathu	80/82	uş-şumma
307-321	XXXVI Yā Sīn	12/11	inna XXXVII as Safat	75/73	al-mujibun
322-332	XXXVII aş-Şāfāt	91/89	'alâ XXXVIII Şad	29/28	'ilaika
333	XXXIX az-Zamar	6/8	khalagakum	8/11	thumma 'idha
	XL al-Mu'min	4	Allāhi	7	al-Jahimi
334	Vit gi-Ma min	51/54	āmanū	57/59	'akbaru
335		67/69	min turābin	83	farihū
336-338	XLI Fussilat	5/4	wa min	39	'innahu
339-345 346-353	XLII ash-Shura	21/20	shara'u XLIII az-Zukhruf	11/10	maitan

The paper leaves, which were later additions and may be neglected for out purpose of comparison are the following-

Ff.	Sürah	From verse		Verse
1-2t	II al-Baqarah	7/6 wa labi		6 zulumātin lā
8		54/51 ur-rahi	mu 60/5	7 min rizqi
13-15		83/77 wa 'aqi	mā 96/9	0 bi muzahzihihi
33-34		179/175 hayātu	n 187/1	83 'uhilla
35		213/209 Allahu'		l4 wa'l-masjidi 'l-haram
36		231 dirāran	233	rizquhunna
37-42		256/257 bi't-tag	hūt 273/2	74 fa 'inna 'llāha
43-45		282 ya 'avy	ruha end of	Strah.
59-63	III âl Imran	105/101 lahum	128/1	23 laisa
76		186/183 taşbirü	190/1	87 il-'albābi
88	IV an-Nisā'	24/28 'illa	25/2	9 musāfiḥātin
100-102	1-5-6	97/99 fa tuhā	ijirā 106	wa' staghfiri
120	V al-Mā'idah	108/107 'adnā	110	at tini
124			I al-'An'am 3	jahrakum
129-130	VI al-'An'am	22 taz'um		wa hum
142		77 га'а	81	ma 'ashraktum
150-165			ilin VII al-'A'raf 3/2	'auliyā'a
168-170	VII al-'A'raf	18/17 la'amla	a'anna 31/2	
179		57/55 la'allak		l 'awa'ajibtum
181-182		68/66 wa ans		
101 104		1000 Frank (* 100 St 80 St		on insert-ordanii

Folio 90 containing IV 33/37 'aqadat to 36/40 seems to have been added still more recently than the foregoing paper leaves. Folios 2, 6-7, 46-58, 89, 92, 112, 183, 315, and 316 consist of approximately half paper and half original parchment, according to Shebunin. Unfortunately it is not possible to distinguish in the facsimile where this paper mending begins or ends, so that it is always possible that some of the peculiarities of orthography which we note, are due to the later hand which did the mending, and not to the original scribe of the Codex, for where we cannot check from Shebunin's remarks or from the style of the writing, we are at a loss.

### THE SCRIPT

As can be seen from the facsimiles, the script is large, straight, and well-proportioned Kufic (i.e. the style of writing which became specialized in Kufa for the writing of Qurans), and is fairly uniform, On some folios, particularly in the early part of the Second Surah and the beginning of the Seventeenth (ff. 231 ff.), the writing is in a smaller more rapid hand, but

scribe, and not the work of another hand. The scribe has his own peculiarities. At times his *Kaf* is hardly to be distinguished from a *Ta*. His 'Aim at times has an open head both medially and finally, and sometimes is confusingly like when it occurs initially or medially. In the case of *Hamza* he is quite uncertain about the *kursi*, sometimes providing one and at others not, as e.g. in and and another, and often using an *Alif* - as *kursi* where we should expect a *Waw* or a *Ya*, while final *Hamza* is very commonly neglected altogether. A final *Ya* may turn to the left as we normally expect or may turn in under to the right in the fashion that has become common in writing Urdu.

Shebunin is doubtless right in thinking that they are even so by the hand of the original

On the whole, diacritical points are few, though every now and again for a few folios they become relatively numerous. These diacritical points where they occur are certainly contemporary with the original writing, at least in the great majority of cases. They are not in

form of dots but strokes ( for ), but this is more in appearance than in reality for with the broad cut reed pen necessary to produce letters the thickness employed in this Codex, the pressure above a letter which with our pens would produce a dot naturally produced a thin line. Thus there will be one thin stroke above for a *Nun* or *Fa'* or *Ghain* two above for a *Ta'* or *Qaf*, and three above for a *Tha'* or *Shin*, and so on, with corresponding strokes below for the *Ba'*, *Ya'* and *Jim*. Occasionally there are mistakes in the putting of these strokes, as when on fol. 23v a medial *ba'* is marked with a stroke above instead of below, or on fol. 26v where a *ta'* is marked with one stroke only instead of two, or on 22r where a *tha'* has but two strokes instead of three, or 32v where a *lam* is wrongly marked with a stroke beneath. These, however, are purely scribal mistakes, and have no significance. Indeed it is just possible that they are due to Pissareff's inking in, though so far as one can judge they seem to go back to the original scribe. By far the commonest letter to be marked is *Nun*, seldom when it occurs initially, but very commonly when it occurs medially or finally or in the ending *-na*. The next most commonly marked letter is *Ta'*. Some letters, such as *Dhal*, *Za'*, *Dad* and *Ghain* are very rarely pointed.

Other signs such as the *shadda*, *sukun*, *wasla*, etc., and the *hamza* where there is no *kursi* indicating its presence, are entirely lacking, and there are no signs to indicate the vowels. The scribe has no scruples about breaking up words, filling out his line with as many letters of a word as he needs, and finishing the word on the next line that he begins.

# **VERSE DIVISION**

The verse division of this Codex is in general that of the Kufan School but the scribe was somewhat careless. Where he does mark the verse endings his ending is usually that of the Kufans, but he will frequently run on for verse after verse without remembering to put in any sign of verse ending. The sign he uses is the commonly known series of oblique parallel strokes , sometimes more, sometimes fewer, and in one or two places only a single oblique stroke; but their number has no significance. At the conclusion of roughly ten verses he places a coloured rosette, sometimes accompanied by the strokes indicating a verse ending (as at II,81/75, III/105; IV, 111, etc.), but more frequently not. Sometimes he forgets his rosette altogether (c.f. II, 109/103), and occasionally he has a blank space left for a rosette but nothing has been filled in (e.g. III, 180/176), and at II, 171/170 where a rosette would

normally appear he has just drawn a black circle around his strokes . At XXVII, 68/70, XXXVII, 60/58, 182 the strokes are at the end of the verse and the rosette appears in the margin against that line of writing. These coloured rosettes seem to have been put in later than the original writing of the Codex.

The following peculiarities of his verse-marking may be noted -

II, 102/96. The normal Kufan ending of the verse at *ya'lamuna* is not marked, but one is marked within the verse after *khalaqin* where has a pausal sign , and the lithographs with the Sajawandi system of pausal signs have.

109/103. A rosette comes after *lahum* where no verse ending, or even pause, comes in any of the known systems. After the next word *ul-haqq*, however, there is a pausal mark in and a in the Sajawandi system.

III, 145/139. Besides the normal verse ending at *ash-shakirina*, there is here another at *mu'ajjalan* where has a pausal sign , and the Sajawandi system a ...

IV, 12/13. There is a verse ending marked after the first *dain*, where Flügel ends v. 13 and where has a pausal sign  $\epsilon$ , and Sajawandi a h. There is also a verse ending marked after the second *dain*, where Flügel ends v. 14, and where has and Saj. h.

IV, 81/83. In the middle of the verse there is an ending marked after *yubayyituna*, where has only a pausal and Saj. a . The normal sign for verse ending probably came after *wakilan* as it should, but the page is defective here.

141/140. After having noted no verse endings at the end of 139 or 140 or at the normal ending of 141, there is one placed after *al-muminina* in the middle of v. 141/140, where has only a pausal and Saj. a.

VI, 73/72. Besides the mark at the normal verse ending after *ul-khabiru*, one is marked after *fa yakunu* where Flügel ends his v. 72, but where has only a Eand Saj. a ...

VII, 89/87. There is no mark at the normal ending after *al-fatihina*, but within the verse one is placed after *'ilman*, where has only a pausal **\(\tilde{\cappa}\)**, and Saj. a **\(\tilde{\cappa}\)**.

XI, 86/87, 88. There is no mark at the normal ending of the verse after *bi hafizin*, nor at the normal ending of v. 87/89, i.e. after *ur-rashidu*, but within 86 one is marked after *mu'inina* where Flügel ends v. 87, but where has only a and Saj. a .

XVI, 23/24, 25. Besides the normal verse ending after *al-mustakbirina* one is marked after *vu'linuna* where Flügel ends v. 24, but where has only a distance and Saj. a distance.

- 91/93. Besides the normal verse ending after *raf'aluna* one is marked after *kafilan*, where has only a causal sign and Saj. a.
- XVII, 35/37. Besides the normal verse ending after *ta'wilan*, one is marked after *il-mustakimi* where has only a **E**. and Saj. a **L**.
- 82/84. Besides the normal verse ending after *khasaran*, one is marked also after *lil-mu'minina* where expressly marks it to show no pause is to be made, and Saj. does likewise.
- XVIII, 2. There is no mark at the normal verse ending after *hasanan*, but there is one after *al-mu'minina* where neither nor Saj. mark any pause.
- 98. Besides the normal pause at verse ending after haqqan) one is marked after *dakka'a* where has only and Saj. a .
- XIX, 17. There is no mark at the normal verse ending after *sawiyyan*, but one is marked in the middle of the verse after *hijaban*, where no pausal sign is given in or Saj.
- 41/42. There is no mark at the normal ending of the verse nor after the next (v. 42/43) but in the middle of v. 41/42 one is marked after *Ibrahima*, where has only the sign and Saj.
- XX, 53/55. Besides marking the normal verse ending after *shatta* there is one marked also after *subulan*, where no pausal sign at all is given in either or Saj.
- 86/88. Besides marking the usual verse ending after *mau'idi*, two other verse endings are marked within the verse; one after *'asifan* where Flügel marks the end of his v. 88, and where has a and Saj. a has a and Saj. a has a cand Saj. a has a c
- 88/90. The verse ending is marked after *Musa*, whereas it ought normally to come after the next word *fa nasiya*. This is doubtless merely a scribal error.
- 123/121, 122. Besides marking the normal verse ending after *yashqa*, one is also marked after *hudan* where Flügel ends his v. 121, but where neither nor the Sajawandi system has any mark of pause.
- XXXIX, 7/9, 10. Besides the mark for the normal verse ending after *is-suduri* there is one marked also after *ta'maluna*, where Flügel ends his v. 9, but where has only a and Sai. a ...

XLII, 48/47. Besides marking the normal verse ending after *kafurun*, one is also marked after *hafizan* where has only a pausal and Saj. a.

The most striking fact in this list is the number of coincidences of verse endings in the Codex with those adopted by Flügel in his text. There are further coincidences in that II, 40/38, 67/63, 78/73; III, 38/33, 131/126, 196; IV, 3, 27/32, 41/45,118; V,101; VI, 66; VII, 105/103; XI, 74/77,82/84,118/120; XIV,43/44; XVII,104/106; XVIII, 2, 23, 32/31, 84/83; XX, 33/34, 72/75, 78/81, 87/90, 92/94, 106, 116/115; XL, 53/56, 73/74; XLII, 32/31, this Codex has no verse endings marked where Flügel marks none but does<sup>6</sup>. Since we are entirely in the dark as to the source from which Flügel drew his verse divisions, these coincidences are significant. Flügel's verse endings agree with none of the known systems whose tradition has come down to us, nor with any that we have been able to trace in the Masoretic literature under the section Ru'us al-Ayy, and it has been generally assumed that he selected his verse endings on an arbitrary system of his own. The number of agreements between his system and that followed in this Codex, however, suggest that he may have been following the system of some MS in his possession which may have followed some divergent Oriental tradition. It must be admitted, however, that the table Shebunin constructs of the divergences between this Samarqand Codex and the Flügel text in the matter of verse endings, is equally long and imposing, so that it is obvious that the question of Flügel's system of verse division awaits further elucidation.

In placing the rosettes at roughly ten verses apart, the scribe was following the ancient practice of indicating the 'ushr or tenths, which is possibly the earliest of the various systems of verse grouping. It is clear that he was following a system and not just counting verses, for in many places his rosette comes where it ought to come on the Kufan system of marking the tens, whereas between two rosettes he himself has marked more or less than ten verse endings. For example in Sura XVIII there is a rosette at v. 10 after rashadan and another at v. 20 after abadan, where they would normally come according to the Kufan system, but in the Codex only seven verses are marked between them. As these rosettes are witness to an early 'ushr system it is worth while listing them, though with the remark that the witness is not as perfect as it might have been, for the scribe has often forgotten to put in a rosette in places where, even on his own counting, he has gone well beyond ten verses. The list following is corrected from that of Shebunin.

Fol. 4v after sadiqina (II,31/29); 7v after zalimuna (51/48); 9v after ya'taduna (61/58); 11r after yaf'aluna (71/86); 12v after khaliduna (81/75); 16v after ya'lamuna (101/95); 18v after lahum (109/103); 19r after sadiqina (111/105); 21r after alkhasiruna (121/115); 23r after al-alamina (131/125); 28r after ta'amuna (151/146); 29v after ajma'ina (161/156); 47r after yasha'u (III,40/35); 53r after ta'lamuna (71/64); 56r after ash-shahidina (81/75); 58v after kafirina (100/95); 66r after azzalimina (140/134); 69v after al-mu'minin (160/154); 74r after khabirun (180/176); 79r after tuflihuna (200); 86v after mubinan (IV,20/24); 103v after hakiman (111); 109r after hamidan (131/130); 113v after mu'minuna (V,88/90); 117r after rahimun (98); 123v after al-hakimu (118); 126r after yalbisuna (VI, 9); 128r after tushrikuna (19); 133r after mustakimin (39); 137v mubinin (59); 140r after yakfuruna (70/69); 144v after bi kafirina (89); 167r after as-sajidina (VII, 11/10); 171v after ya'lamuna (32/30); 174r after az-zalimuna (41/39); 177r after yajhaduna (51/49); 184r after musrifuna (81/79); 187r after jathimina (91/89); 189r after al-kafirina (101/99); 190v after muftaruna (XI, 50/52); 193r after mujibun (61/64); 195r after Ya'quba (71/74);

197r after bi qaribin (81/83); 199r after wadudun (90/92); 201r after hasidun (100/102); 203r after muribin (110/112); 205r after az-zahidina (XII, 20); 207r after al-'awwalina (XV, 10); 208r after bi-raziqina (20); 209r after 'ajma'una (30); 210r after al-mukhlasina (40); 211v after al-ghabirina (60); 212r after al-alamina (70); 213r after al-mursalina (80); 214r after tusimuna (XVI, 10); 215r after yukhlaquna (20); 217v after al-muttaqina (30/32); 219v after fa yakunu (40/42); 222r after alhakimu (60/62); 224r after qadirun (70/72); 226v after hinin (80/82); 228r after tadhakkaruna (90/92); 229v after mushrikuna (100/102); 232r after 'aliman (XVII, 10/11); 233v after mahzuran (20/21); 234v after basiran (30/32); 235v after 'aziman (40/42); 237v after kabiran (60/62); 239r after tafdilan (70/72); 240r after nasiran (80/82); 241v after yanbu'an (90/92); 243r after gaturan (100/102); 244v after takbiran (111); 246r after rashadan (XVIII, 10/9); 248r after 'abadan (20/19); 250v after 'amalan (30/29). 252r after talaban (41/39); 254r after 'adudan (51/49); 256r after saraban (61/60); 257r after 'imran (71/70); 259r after saddan (94/93); 260v after waznan (105); 263r after maqdiyyan (XIX, 21; 264v after hayyan (31/32); 265v after Ibrahima (41/42); 267r after shai'an (60/61); 268r after siliyyan (70/71); 269v after maddan (79/82); 270r after 'iddan (89/91); 271r after rikzan (98); 272r after ya Musa (XX,11); 273r after al-'ula (21/22); 273v after 'azri (31/32); 274v after ya Musa (40/42); 275v after al-'ula (51/53); 276v after iftara (61/64); 278r after 'abga (71/74); 279v after ihtada (82/84); 281r after Musa (91/93); 282v after zurgan (102); 283v after dhikran (113/112); 284v after hudan (123/121); 286r after 'abga (131); 287v after ta'buduna (XXVI, 70); 289r after lil-muttaqina (90); 289v after shafi'ina (100); 291v after ar-rahimu (140); 293r after 'ajma'ina (170); 294r after il-'alamina (180); 295r after mu'minina (190)' 295v after al-mujrimina (200); 297v after al mursaluna (XXVII, 10) 299v after al-gha'ibina (20); 300r after ir-rahimi (30) 301v after yuslihuna (48/49) 303r after ul mundharina (58/59); 305v after ul 'awwalina (68/70) 306v after *ul-'alimu* (78/80) 308r after *muhtaduna* (XXXVI,21/20); 309v after yarji'una (31); 310v after il-mashhuni (41); 312r after yansiluna (51); 313r after mustaqimun (61); 314v after malikuna (71); 317v after ud-dini (XXXVII,20); 318v after taghina (30/29); 319v after al-mukhlasina (40/39); 320r after yatas 'aluna (50/48); 320v after ul-azimu (60/58); 321v after yuhra'una (70/68); 322v after assalihina (100/98); 323v after il-muhsinina (110); 324r after Haruna (120); 324v after 'il Yasina (130); 325r after il-mashhuni (140); 326r after shahiduna (150); 326v after il-mukhlisina a after il-mukhlisina (160); 327r after ya'lamuna (170); 328r after yasifuna (180); 329v after al-ahzabi (XXXVIII, 11/10); 330v after ul-mihraba (21/20); 336v after ya'lamuna (XL, 70/72); 338v after tunkiruna (81); 340r after ta'i'ina (XLI 11/10); 342r after ul-jabiru after shakurin (33/31); 350r after turja'una (21/20); 346v after ul-kabiru (XLII, 22/21); 348v after shakurin (33/31); 350r after il-'umuri (43/41); 352v after ul-'umuru (53).

Shebunin notes rosettes also on fol. 3r after II, 21/19 fol. 288r after XXVI, 80; fol. 344v after XLI, 31, where none are visible on the pages of the Pissareff facsimile. On the other hand he omits to catalogue those on fol. 18v, fol. 58v, fol. 254r, which are there quite plainly in the facsimile. It is possible that these omissions on his part are purely mistakes due to oversight, and it is also probable that the rosettes that are missing in the Pissareff facsimile may be due to further deterioration of the Codex between the time when Shebunin examined it and Pissareff's work in reproducing it.

Within the rosettes are crudely formed Arabic letters used as numerals, which once doubtless noted the numbers of the *a'shar* in the original Codex in its complete form, but which now,

with so many folios of the original missing, present no sort of sequence. In the Columbia copy of the facsimile folios 138, 139, 141, 143, 194, 197, 207, 209, 210, 218, 231, 238, 239, 276, 291 and 295 have been bound in back to front, i.e. the recto is the verso and vice versa, which only adds to the confusion.

A comparison with the Kufan and Basran 'ushr marks in the lithographed Qur'ans of Cairo and Stambul reveals that the system in this Codex does not agree with the later systems of either of these cities, coinciding sometimes with a Basran 'ushr mark, sometimes with a Kufan, and sometimes, perhaps more often with neither. The lithographs, it is true, do not always agree with one another on the matter, but none of the several examined showed any marked connection with the system here.

At the end of a Surah there is a coloured band of decoration stretching right across the page to separate the end of one Surah from the beginning of another. Such are preserved on fol. 79r; 244v 271r; 316r; 328r; and 352v. If the last words of the Surah do not fill out a complete line, the scribe fills in what remains of the line with this coloured decoration, so that his *Bismillah* for the next Surah will start at the beginning of a line. There is no rubric of any kind at the head of a new Surah. Each new Surah begins directly with the *Bismillah*, and there is no pause mark or space between it and the first words of the verse to follow. The so-called Mystic Letters are found, and again there is no break between the *Bismillah* and these letters or between them and the beginning of the verse. Needless to say, since there is no rubric at the head of a Surah there is no name or number attached to the Surah.

No pausal signs are used in the Codex, and there are no marginal indications of 'ajza' or liturgical divisions.

#### ORTHOGRAPHY

Shebunin in his account of the orthography compared this text with that of Flügel, but as Flügel followed no known Oriental tradition of *Rasm* in preparing his text, a comparison on that basis is almost valueless. Compared with Flügel's text this Samarqand Codex presented a great number of peculiarities, but when we compare it with the rules for Qur'anic orthography given in the *Muqni* of ad-Dani, and the Egyptian Government text ( ), which attempt to follow consistently the Kufan masoretic tradition of *Rasm al-Masahif* in Qur'anic orthography, we find that this Codex, while presenting numerous deviations, yet follows the general Kufan system with fair consistency. Where it deviates it presents numerous points of interest, so that a detailed comparison is of a certain importance.

Only what remains of the original folios can be used in this comparison, and unfortunately our comparison will be to some extent vitiated by an element of uncertainty not present in Shebunin's case. He, as already mentioned, was able to make his comparison directly from the Codex, where it was possible to distinguish the places where the folios had been mended, but this distinction is not possible on the facsimile which is all we now have available. The folios which Shebunin notes as being entirely paper may be rejected and indeed they are generally distinguishable by the difference in handwriting, but where the parchment leaves have been mended to a greater or lesser extent with paper patches, the patching does not show up in the facsimile, and though it is sometimes possible to distinguish the later hand which filled in the writing on these patches, there yet remains an element of uncertainty which is unfortunate but inescapable.

In a later number of the *Zapiski* (Vol. XIV, 1901, pp. 119-154) Shebunin published an examination of another ancient Codex of the Qur'an, No.534 of the Collection in the Khedivial Library at Cairo, which in many respects was closely similar to the Samarqand Codex in matters of orthography. This Codex had also been restored at various times, and not always by skilful hands, but it still has 248 original parchment leaves, besides 34 imitation parchment leaves, 61 leaves taken from another Codex and inserted to fill in missing passages, and 219 paper leaves supplied to complete the volume. We may label this Codex (C) and from the evidence of the original portions of the 248 parchment leaves as they were scrutinized by Shebunin, use its evidence to check with the peculiarities we have before us in the Samarqand Codex.

II, 22/20. اندوا is written without the medial *alif*, i.e. اندوا So in 165/160 and XLI, 9/8. 24/22. without the medial *alif*. So in 74/69; XI, 82/84; XV, 74.

25/23. is written with the final *alif*, i.e. contrary to *Muqni'* 23-25, which says that this word should have the final *alif* only in XLII, 22/21. In this Codex, however, it is written with the final *alif* in III, 136/130, 195/194,198/197; IV, 122/121; V, 119; XV, 45; XVI, 31/33; XVIII, 31/30; XIX,61/62; XX, 76/78; XXVI, 134; XXXVI, 34; XXXVII, 43/42, but elsewhere without the *alif*, even in XLII, 22/21 though the defective state of the folio at this point makes the reading a little uncertain. C has it always with the *alif*. is written , but possibly this is on the paper portion, and in any case would be a scribal error without textual significance.

26/24. without the medial *alif*.

28/26. is written with the *alif* i.e. c.f. XLI, 36. In the *alif* of is omitted before pronominal suffixes in this Surah only, the *alif* being written in in V, 35; XLI, 39 and in in XXII, 66/65. The only one of these passages extant in this Codex is XLI, 39, where, however, it is written without the *alif*. In C the *alif* is generally written before suffixes.

30/28. without the *alif*. So normally in C.

احیاء اللہ without the hamza, i.e.

38/36. without the medial *alif*. normally writes this without the *alif* before pronominal suffixes, but here and at XX, 123/122 it has the *alif*, obviously to distinguish

- from but the more primitive writing may well have been as here without the alif (see Muqni' 68), though this Codex has it in XX, 123/122, as does C.
- 41/38. without the *alif*.
- 49/46. has an *alif* for the *hamsa*, i.e. quite irregularly.
- 53/50. without the medial *alif*. So in C.
- الفرقان (bis) in V, 89/91, ماتخاذ کم (in XVII, 61/63, without the medial alif. So (bis) in V, 89/91, in XVIII, 58/57 and in XVIII, 73/72.
- 61/58. فواخذ ني without the alif. So مواخذ من بي بي بي without the alif. So بي فاخذ بي but with the alif in V,
- 95/96, XVIII, without the medial *alif*.
- 19/18, as invariably in and and.
- 64/61, is omitted before but this is probably merely a scribal error, if not due to a mistake on a paper patch in the folio.
- has the *alif* but no *kursi* for the *hamza*.
- 68/63. without the alif.
- 69/64. without the alif.
- 74/69. without the *alif*. See under 24/22.
- 78/73. without the *alif*. So in 111/105 and IV, 123/122. C agrees.
- 83/77. without the *alif*. So C. has it here but is without it elsewhere.

99/93. with the *alif* of the fem. plural, and so in IV, 140/139; XVII, 101/103; XVIII, 17/16; XIX, 58/59; XXVII, 1, 12; XXXVI, 46; XL, 56/58, 69/71, but elsewhere without, as normally in . Shebunin noted the same inconsistency in C.

with the *alif*, though the corresponding is without, as in . *Muqni* 23 says that there was variation among the Codices as to this *alif*.

without the *alif*, as in C, and as it should be according to *Muqni'* 18.

is written , and so in IV, 15/19, 18/22; VII, 38/36, 40/38; XVII, 34/36; XVIII, 60/59, 60/69, 86/84; XXVII, 18, 32; XXXVI, 39; XLI, 20/19, though elsewhere it is written normally, as is invariably the case in C.

بضارین without the medial alif.

with the *alif*, but in III, 77/71 without the *alif*, as normally in .

108/102. is written There were word, so that this may be an ancient variant numerous variant readings recorded for this in the text.

without the *alif*. So in III, 91/85, but with the *alif* in II, 161/156 and IV, 18/22. C has it without the *alif*, though according to *Muqni'* 13, 16 it ought to be written with the *alif* save in XIII, 42.

111/105. without the medial *alif*. See 78/73.

119/113. The text has here some word ending in but the edge of the folio is lost. There is no known variant here, so possibly this is to be taken as a mistake.

124/118. without the *alif*, as in 30/28. So in III, 55/48.

without the *alif*. So in XV, 79 and XXXVI, 12/11. writes it with the *alif* save in XVII, 71/73 where it agrees with this text. C writes without *alif*.

126/120. What is written seems to be but doubtless it is merely an error in the rewriting.

- without the first *alif.* has it here, but writes it without in 200/196.
- without the second *alif*, i.e. . So in XXVII, 67/69; XXXVII, 17, though elsewhere with the *alif*, as in . C also varies in this matter.
- 136/130. without the medial *alif*. So in 140/134 and III, 84/78. C agrees.
- without the medial *alif*. C agrees.
- الإحباط without the *alif* (bis).
- 156/151. with the *alif.* So in IV, 72/74, 73/75; III, 172/166; XI, 81/83; III, 146/140; XLII, 30/29; XI, 89/91; V, 106/105; III, 165/159, 166/160. differs in its
- treatment of the *alif* in this word. In and it always has it (as does this
- Codex in XI, 89/91, the only place we can test); has it in this text), but omits it in (which in this text has it in III, 166/160; IV, 73/75; XLII, 30/29); has
- it in (as does this text), but omits it in and this text has it in III, 165/159; IV, 72/74; V, 106/105; II, 156/151). (where
- 158/153. without the *alif*. So C, and so save in this verse. without the *alif*, but with it in V, 93/94; IV, 23/27, 128/127. Both and C write it with the *alif* throughout.
- without the medial *alif*. So C, and so save in this verse.
- is written with no room for the like the original writing, but it must be merely a scribal error.
- 172/167. The *nun* has been omitted by scribal error.
- without the medial *alif*, but is written with it in 137/131; IV, 35/39; XI, 89/91, XXXVIII, 2/1. Both C and have it throughout.

- والبر لمن امن البر من امن , but it may be due to a reinking.
- iII, 39/33. without the medial *alif*.
- without the medial *hamza*, i.e. امرتى , though elsewhere it is written regularly. C always has the *alif* as *kursi* for the *hamza*.
- without the *alif*. So in XIX, 5, 8/9.
- written with two *kursis* for the *ya*. See 58/51. Shebunin notes that cases of this superfluous *kursi* occur in C in various forms of the word.
- without the medial *alif*, though it is written with it in 192/189, and in in this verse. C writes it with the *alif* when it is without pronominal suffixes, but without it when it has the suffixes.
- 58/51. is written with two *kursis* for the ya'. So also in 70/63. See on v. 50/44, where the superfluous *kursi* occurs in the singular form.
- 61/54. without the *alif*. So also in 64/57, though it is written with it in 167/160 and V, 104/103. C always has the *alif*.
- 65/58. without the *alif* So in 68/59 and in 73/66.
- 69/62. without the *alif*, i.e. ,though written with it in 72/65; IV, 113; and III, 154/148.
- without the medial *alif*. So in IV, 20/24. without the medial *alif*. C would normally be without.
- is written with two *ya's* i.e. as in many old Codices.
- 78/72. The words are omitted by the scribe, obviously by error, thinking he had already written them.

عباد الله عباد الله written without the *alif*, i.e. . . So in VII, 32/30; XVII, 17/18, 30/32, 96/ 98; XIX, 61/62, 82/85; XXVII, 15, 59/60; XXXVIJ, 111, 122, 132, 171; XXXIX, 7/9; XLII, 23,/22, 25/24, 27/26 bis, 52, but elsewhere with the *alif*, as at

XXXVI, 30/29; XXXVII, 40/39 etc. has the *alif* written throughout save in

XLIII, 19/18, المجادي المجادي

المبندة is written with the alif. C commonly has the alif in words of the form

83/77. with the first long *alif*. So 133/127, 180/176; IV, 131/130, 132/131; VI, 12.75; XI, 107/109; XVIII, 14/13, 26/25, 51/49; XX, 4/3; XXVII, 65/66; XXXVI, 81; XLI, 12/11; XLII, 49/48, 53, though elsewhere he writes as with no long *alif*. C always omits the long *alif*. has second long in XLI, 12/11.

87/81. with the medial *alif*. So in XV, 30; XVII, 92/94; XX, 116/115; XLI, 30, but elsewhere without as . C generally has it without the *alif*.

- الملكة . 1 The final الملكة . has been omitted by error.
- 92/86. without the medial *alif*.
- written without the medial *alif*.
- العافين without the *alif*.

- written without the *alif*, which would be the normal writing in C.
- نداولها without the *alif*.
- is written افین which is peculiar, but see Muqni' 50.

استكانوا without the medial *alif*.

without the medial *alif*. So in IV, 6/5. C would normally omit it. without the medial *alif*. So in XLI, 29. So normally in C.

without the medial *alif*. So in IV, 34/38. So normally in C.

without the *alif*, agreeing with *Muqni'* 18. In 166/160, however, it is with the *alif* as in .

156/150. is written with the *kursi* for a *ya'* before the final So in XV, 23 and XXXVI, 11/12, 78, though elsewhere it follows with only a final So in C is inconsistent in writing this word.

is written written thus in XXXVII, 68/66. which may be a mistake of the scribe, though C has it written thus in XXXVII, 68/66.

is written contrary to Muqni' 82. without the alif.

written without the *alif*.

is written is written. So in IV, 17/21, 85/87; V, 92/93, 99, 117; VI, 93; XVIII, 15/14 and in III, 179/173. This form is never found in C.

is written without the *alif*.

without the *alif*. C and always have the *alif*.

is written با بنتكم with an extra alif; [see Muqni' 18.]

اطعونا الطعونا is written without the alif, i.e.

172/166. without the medial *alif*. So in XLII, 38/36, but with it in III, 195/193.

is written is written probably a scribal error, though Shebunin notes that this superfluous alif occurred four times in C, in XL, 15; LIII, 6; LXV, 7; and LXXXV, 15 in the case of this word

is written without the *alif*. So in IV, 34/38.

ازدادوا نزدادوا المراجعة is without the alif. So in ازدادوا in IV, 137/136; XVIII, 25/24.

is written without the *alif* on the analogy of etc. above. It would normally be written without in C.

is with the medial *alif*, where has it without. In this word has the *alif* only in VI, 135,

is written without the *alif* So in IV, 89/91; XVI, 41/43.

is written without the *alif*, i.e. though it has the *alif* in 193/191 as and C have throughout.

200. without the alif.

وابطوا without the alif.

IV, 1. is written without the *alif*, i.e. So in VII, 48/46; XVI, 43/45, but elsewhere with the *alif* as and C.

الارحام without the alif.

3. is written , which was said to be the writing in 'Uthman's Codex. *Muqni'*, 71.

4/3. is written as it was written in the Codex of Ibn Mas'ud (see *Muqni'* 45). So in VI, 38, 91, 93; XI, 57/60; 101/103; XV, 21; XVI, 35/37, 75/77, 89/91; XVIII, 70/69; XX, 50/52. £ has it thus only in XVIII, 23 but C has this form in VI, 38, 93, XVIII, 23; 70/69; XX,

50/52. Elsewhere in this Codex as in C it is written normally, as in . [In VI, 93 it is everywhere else .1 6/5. -is written without the *alif*. is written without the alif. رالو لدان (bis) is written without either alif, i.e. الو لدان . See Muqni' 18. عتی . See II, 102/96. والذن والذان e is written without the alif. is mistakenly written but this may he due to the reinking. is written without the alif. is without the *alif*. عند is followed by an that does not belong there. It is quite obviously a scribal error and not a textual variant. is written without the alif. 36/40. is written is written , which *Muqni'* 110 notes from some Kufan Codices. is written without the alif. العاحب is written without the alif, i.e. 75/77. without the *alif*. So in 97/99; XVI, 28/30; XVIII, 35/33; XXXVII, 113. 92/94. without the *alif*. So in V, 95/96, 89/91 and C always write with alif.

93/95 as in III, 136/130 is written without any waw. 94/96. is written without the medial alif.

is written without the medial alif. without the alif. So C would normally write it without alif.

is written without the medial alif, has the alif in this word save in XVI, 27/29 where in this Codex also it is written without the alif.

is written الذن without the medial *alif*. So in XVII, 46/48, XVIII, 11/10, but in XVIII, 57/55 it has the medial *alif* as has all through.

125/124. is written without the ya'. So in XIX, 41/42, 58/59. has it thus in Surah II only, but elsewhere with the ya' (see Muqni' 36). In C it is apparently always written with the ya'.

is written without the *alif*. So in VI, 35. C would normally omit *alif*.

written with two alifs, but perhaps by mistake. with wrongly written with for , but this is possibly due to the reinking.

140/139. is written with waw, i.e. . This for the kursi of the hamza is an understandable writing, but Muqni' 60 expressly lists this verse as one of the places where there was an alif as kursi in all the early Codices.

is written without the *alif*.

is written without the *alif*, which is possibly the original writing since there are textual variants and (see Abu Hayyan *Bahr* III, 337, Ibn Halawaih 26) which assume an original form without *alif* from which these could be derived.

V, 89/91. (bis) without the *alif*. So in XVI, 61/63-; XVIII, 58/57, 73/72. without the *alif*. is inconsistent in writing this word, writing it with *alif* here and in LVIII, 4/5, but without *alif* in XC, 14. As C also would seem to have written it without the *alif* this may well have been the original writing.

- 90/92. الإنصاب without the *alif*, as would be the normal writing in C also.
- 94/95. مناله is written without the medial alif, i.e. مناله

without the *alif*, as would be normal in C also.

95/96. There is only an unintelligible writing here, which looks like but is possibly due to the reinking process, where the original was too faint to be properly traced.

96/97. للسيرة is written without the alif, i.e.

- is written with the medial *alif*, but as this *alif* comes at the end of a line, that may be the explanation. See on II, 156/151.
- without the *alif* here and in the next verse, contrary to but in agreement with the regulation in *Muqni'* 18.
- are both without the alif, agreeing in this with Muqni' 18.
- is without the *alif* here and in v.112, though it had it in III, 52/45 as .
- is written with the alif, so in C.
- VI, 6. action is written without the alif. So in XI, 52/54. This would be normal in C.
- 7. without the *alif* here and in v.91. So C would normally write.
- is without the *alif*. 14.
- is without the *alif*.
- without the *alif* here and in v. 61.

- 36. wrongly written by the scribe as though this again may be a case of wrong reinking of faded letters.
- is without the *alif*, So in v.65 and in XVII, 99/101. is inconsistent in writing this word. Generally writes it as here with the *alif*, but without it in XXXVI, 81; XLVI, 33/32; LXXV, 40. See *Muqni'* 14.
- 38. is without the *alif*, as it is in C.
- 38. is without the medial *alif*. is inconsistent, writing it generally as here with the *alif*, but without it in XXIV, 35; XXV, 9/10, 39/41; XXIX, 43/42; XLVII, 3,10/11, 35/40; LVI, 23/22, 61; LIX, 21: LXXVI, 28. This Codex has it without the *alif* in XVI, 74/76 and XVII, 48/51 also, in both of which passages has the *alif*.
- is written without the medial *alif*. So in XV, 21; XVII, 100/102; and XXXVIII, 9/8.
- 52. is written without the medial *alif*, but has it as . C is without the *alif* in LXV, 8.
- is written without the medial *alif*. So C would normally omit the *alif*. is written with only one *kursi* but doubtless by error.
- 71/70. is written عبران without the alif. Without the alif. So probably in C.
- 74. is without the medial *alif*. So in XXVI, 71. C would normally omit it.
- 85. without the *alif* writes it with the *alif* here but without XXXXVII, 123, where this text has the *alif* as
- 91. فراطیس without the medial *alif* as in the singular form in v. 7.
- 92. with out the *alif*, So in XIX, 31/32. This would agree with *Muqni'* 19, 82. The writing in is inconsistent, having it with *alif* here and at v.155/156; XIX, 32; XXI, 50/51; XXIII, 29/30, but without it in XXIV, 35.61; XXVIII, 30; XXXVIII, 29/28; XLIV, 3/2; and L, 9.

- 92. يحافظون is without the alif.
- 93. is without the alif, i.e.
- 94. is written here, as normally in IV, 12/15; VI, 100. has the waw ending only here and at XLII, 21/20. See Muqni' 61.
- 96. is written without the *alif*, which is perhaps the original writing, for there are textual variants and (Abu Hayyin Bahr IV, 185, Kirmani *Bayan* 79), which could only have arisen from a form without *alif*.
  - is without the alif. So C would normally have written.
  - is without the *alif*. So in XVIII, 40/38.
- 99. is written without the *alif*, though it has the *alif* in XVIII, 45/43; XX, 53/55. C is without it in LXXVIII, 15. has the *alif* throughout.
- 99. is written without the medial *alif*, is without the *alif*. C would normally omit it also.
- is without the *alif*, which is perhaps the original writing, for has it without the *alif* in all passages gave this and II, 266/268. So C would normally write it without the *alif*.
- 100. is written with the *alif*, which again is possibly original, for has it with the *alif* everywhere save here and at XVI, 57/59; LII, 39 (see *Muqni'* 23). C always has it with the *alif*, and in this Codex it is with it in XVI, 57/59.
- is written with the *alif*, and so in XVII, 43/45 also, though without *alif* as in XXVII, 63/64; XX, 114/113. *Muqni'* 19 says it should be without *alif*. 104. is written without the *alif*. So in XVII, 102/104. C would agree.
- VII, 10/9. مُخْنَاكم is written مُخْنَاكم with the alif
- is written without the *alif*, though in XVI, 48/50 it has it.
- 32/30. is without the *alif*. So in XVI, 66/68.

- 38/36. With the elements separated. There was some dispute as to how this should be written. In the *Muqni'* 79 and *Mansar al-Huda*, the rule is given that this separated form should be written only in XIV, 34/37, but has it separated in IV, 91/93; and XXIII, 44/46, though joined everywhere else. C has it joined in V, 64/69 but separated in LXVII, 8.
- is written without the *alif*, which may be original, for save in this passage omits the *alif Muqni'* 13), and there were textual variants here (Ibn Halawaih 44, Kirmani *Bayan*, 85) which could only have arisen from a form without the *alif*.
- 40/38. is written without the *alif*, which may be original for there were textual variants (Abu Hayyan *Bahr* IV, 297, 298) which assume an original form without an *alif*.
- 43/41. هدانا (bis) is written with but one kursi
- is written without the alif here and in 48/46. So C would have omitted alif,
- is without the *alif*, agreeing with *Munqi'* 19 and with C. writes it without in LV, 78 and LXVII, 1. See on XLI, 10/9.
- is written without the *alif*.
- is without the *alif*, as would be normal also in C.
- is without the *alif*, So in the next verse.
- has been mistakenly written twice by the scribe.
- is written without the *alif*, C would normally omit the *alif* also.
- 85/83. الْمِيْرَانُ is without the *alif*. So also in XI, 84/85, 85/86. C also without *alif*,
- XI, 53/56. تارکوا is written نامیته without the alif, and so in XXXVII, 36/35. نامیتها is without the alif.
- is written with the *alif*, i.e. واتانى. C would normally write as here.

- 75/77. is written with the *alif*, i.e. often kept the *alif* in such forms.
- 77/79. is written apparently on the analogy of for for C writes it as in
- is written with the alif, i.e. and so in XV, 74.
- المكيال is without the *alif* here and in the next verse.
- 87/89. is mistakenly written کانت. Doubtless a scribal error.
- اخالفكم is without the alif.
- XV, 23. is written with the extra letter . See on III, 156/150.
- 79. ألمام is written without the *alif*, i.e. المام . See on II, 124/118.
- 1 is written with the *alif*, i.e. against the rule of *Muqni'* 18, but on the analogy of in V, 116.
- XVI, 14. مواخر is written without the alif.
- is without the alif, as is اوزارهم, here and in XX, 87/90. اوزارهم is without the alif.
- is written without the medial *alif*, though it has it in II, 127/121. is with *alif* here and at II, 127/121, but without it at XXIV, 60/59. C is normally without the *alif* in such forms.
- is written with alif as kursi for the hamza, i.e. وستأخرون
- is written احيا . C agrees with ه
- 66/68. is written without the alif.

اقامتگم is without the alif.

اوبارها is written without the alif. So normally C.

is without the alif. So normally C.

89/91. شی• is written . See IV, 4/3.

90/92. ایشی is written without the alif, i.e. وایشانی . See Muqni' 50.

اريا is written اربى 92/94.

117/118. is written with the *alif*, though it is without it in III, 185/182, 197/196; V, 97/96; XVI, 80/82; XXXVI, 44; XLII, 36/3-4. This is not a word where Shebunin notes any inconsistency in C, which would normally write it without the *alif*.

VII, 5. is written without the *alif*, This is perhaps the original writing for writes it without *alif* everywhere save in this verse, and this Codex and C have it consistently without the *alif*.

15/16. وازرة is written وازرة without the alif. So in XXXIX, 7/9.

العاجلة is without the *alif*.

is written without the *alif, Muqni'* 100, 101 notes that the early Codices differed on the spelling here.

رتیانی written رتیانی without the alif.

is without the *alif*. So in XXVI, 182, doubtless in the analogy of such forms as , VI, 7.

38/40. is written , probably by scribal error.

is written اصفاكم with the alif.

is without the *alif*. So normally would C write. 68/70. is written without the *alif*. So in XXXVII,8 and here in v. is written without the alif. is written قطفا without the alif. 79/81. is written without the alif. 82/84. فسرا is written without the alif. 84/86. ما کلته is without the alif. 93/95. is written without the alif. This is possibly original for has the alif here alone. See Muqni' 18, 101. C omits the alif. ألاقاق is without the alif. is written للاذقان without the alif here and in the next verse. is written بصلتك without the alif, which is perhaps the original writing, for there were textual variants here (see Zamakhshari on the verse, and as-Suyuti's Durr IV, 208), and shows much inconsistency in writing the word when it has attached pronouns. C seems usually to have had the alif. نخفت نخافت is written without the alif. XVIII, 16/15. is written . See *Mugni'* 54. الفائل 18/17. is written without the medial *alif*. ذراعیه is without the medial alif. is written with the alif. has the alif in V, 28/31 but writes the word without it elsewhere. C would normally omit the alif. is written فرادا without the alif.

عامنهم عادسهم المعلم and are all without the alif.

is written without the alif.

This would be normal in C.

يردفها is written سردفها without the alif.

is written اسور without the alif.

is without the alif.

is written الأرائك without the alif, here and in XXXVI, 56.

34/32. is without the *alif*, here and in v.37/35.

37/35. is written without the alif.

is without the *alif* here, though with it in other occurrences, as in and in C.

برازة is written بأرزة without the alif.

is without the *alif*; and so in the verse, 49/47.

without the alif. 49/47. العضرا is written

53/51. is without the medial *alif*, which is perhaps original, as is without it in LVI, 75/74.

62/61. written . without the first *alif*. is inconsistent, having the *alif* here and in II, 249/250; XLVI, 16/15, but without in VII, 138/134; X, 90.

64/63. is written without the *alif*. So in XL, 82, though elsewhere with the *alif* as in XXXVI, 12/11, where writes without any *alif*.

is written dif, without the alif,

96/95. is written without the alif, as would be normal with C.

XIX, 10/11. لين is written without the alif. So would C normally write.

- is without the *alif* here and in XXXVIII, 21/20, but with it in III, 39/33.
- 13/14. is written without the alif.
- is written without the *alif* here and in v. 32/33, but with it in XI, 59/62.
- 17. is written without the *alif* here, but with it in VII, 46/44; XVII, 45/47 and XLII, 51/50.
- is written without the alif.
- 37/38. الأحزاب is without the *alif* here and in XXXVIII, 11/10, 13/12; XL, 5.
- is written مندق without the alif.
- أضاعوا is written without the medial alif.
- واردها واردها is without the *alif*.
- 73/74. is written without the *alif*, but has it in II, 125/119; XVII, 79/81; XXXVII, 164.
- 75/77. is written without the *alif*, though elsewhere it has the *alif* as inconsistent in its treatment of this word.
- ار تاوزهم تُوزَهم , but this seems a scribal error.
- 97. is written without the *alif*, and so in XXVI, 195, but elsewhere with the *alif* as in . C is inconsistent, sometimes having the *alif* and sometimes not.
- XX, 12. is written with the *alif*, which is perhaps original, for there were textual variants and (Marandi, 141; Abu Hayyan, VI, 231; Ibn Jinni, 49; Kirmani, 150) which assume an original *alif* in the text.
- يالسحل السحل is written بالساحل without the alif.

- is written فاتية is written فاتياه though probably only by error.
- 63/66. is written with the second *alif*, i.e. which is perhaps original, for has the *alif* in XXII, 19/20. See *Muqni'* 18.
- is written with the second *alif*. It is so written in C also, and is probably th original form. See *Muqni'* 18.
- 66/69. realing is written without the alif.
- 69/72. is written without the *alif*, possibly the original form, for is without it in all places save here. See *Muqni'* 21.
- 71/74. is written with the *alif*, i.e. though *Muqni'* 12 says it should be written without the *alif*, and it is thus without it in XVII, 76/78.
- 76/78. is written with the *waw*, i.e. See III, 136/130. Shebunin notes that C sometimes wrote with the *waw* and sometimes without. See *Mugni'* 61, 106.
- is written without the *alif* here and in v. 87/90. This is perhaps original, though writes it with *alif* in v. 85/87, 87/90, but in v. 95/96 without, as does this Codex.
- 94/95. See *Muqni'* 81. There were textual variants here (see Marandi and Kirmani 154) which show that there was confusion even in the earliest Codices. C writes as here.
- 97. عاكفا is written غكفا without the alif.
- is written فعا without the alif.
- is written without the *alif* of the fem. plu. ending, which is probably original for has the *alif* here contrary to the rule of *Muqni'* 23, though elsewhere, as at XXXI, 19/18, it follows the rule.
- is without the *alif*, in acordance with the rule in *Muqni'* 18.

- is written ki without the alif.
- اطراق is written اطراق without the alif
- XXVI, 92. is written joined, i.e. which is probably correct, for *Manar* 11, and *Muqni'* 77 are against here. C separates here and at XL, 73/74; LVII, 4; LVIII, 7/8, but joins in XXXIII, 61.
- is written بطرد without the alif.
- 165. الذكران is without the *alif*. So in XLII, 50/49.
- XXVII, 19. فاحكا is written without the alif.
- is without the alif,i.e.
- فوارير is written قوارير without the alif.
- is without the *alif*, probably correctly; see *Muqni'* 18.
- without the alif.
- امرته امرآته 57/58. is written but possibly by mistake.
- حدثق is written without the medial *alif*.
- 61/62. is written فرادا without the alif. C is inconsistent, writing it with the alif in XXXVIII, 60 and without it in XL, 39/42.
- is written without the alif.
- 67/69. is written with the *alif*, which is perhaps the original form. is inconsistent, having the *alif* everywhere save in XIII, 5; XXVII, 67/69 and LXXVIII, 40/41. See *Muqni'*. 20. C always has the *alif*.

is written without the *alif*, but in the next verse with it as . It is without it also in XXXVII, 17. See on II, 13-3/127.

- is written is written is written is written. Shebunin notes that C often had this superfluous alif.
- is written غائبة without the alif.

XXXVI, 14/13. is without the *alif*, i.e. which is perhaps original.

- 22/21. Y is mistakenly written Y.
- 39. منازل is written منزل without the alif.
- 40. is written without the alif.
- ألاجداث is without the alif
- 73. is without the *alif*.

الكواكب without the alif So normally in C.

- 7. is written without the *alif*, as would normally be the case in C.
- is without the alif.
- is written without the alif. So normally in C.
- 16. with the *alif* here and in v. 53/51, C always has the *alif*. is inconsistent, though it spells it generally without the *alif*.
- 25. تناصرون is without the alif.

30/29. is written with the *alif*, which is perhaps correct. (has the *alif* in XXXVIII,55 and LXXVIII, 22 against *Muqni'* 23 and with *alif* in LI, 53; LII, 32 in accordance with *Muqni'* 24.

is written with the *alif*, possibly correctly, as has the *alif* in all passages save this.

- is written without the alif.
- is without the *alif*. 38/37.

57/55. is written in accordance with the rule in Ibn Abi Dawud's *Kitab al-Masahif*, p. 214, but against *Muqni'* 82, 83 and *Manar* 12. C also writes it with here as also in XXXI, 31/30 and LII, 29.

written without kursi for the alif, i.e. نادننا So in C.

99/97. is written without the alif.

102/101. fis written without the alif.

106. is written which is perhaps original. See Ibn Abi Dawud, p. 214 and *Muqni'* 62.

is written without the *alif*.

is written is written is written. without the *alif*. So C would normally omit the *alif*.

ואפינר וואפיטר is written ואפיטר without the alif.

الإشراق is without the *alif*.

is without the *alif*, probably correctly. See *Muqni'* 18.

نغی is written .

XL, 4. is written with the *alif* i.e. البلاد. It is not one of the words which Shebunin marks as taking the *alif* in C.

XLI, 10/9 is written with the *alif*, contrary to C and and the rule in *Muqni'* 19. See on VII, 54/52.

نحنت نحسات is written without the *alif*.

is written اضلانا without the alif, agreeing with Muqni' 18.

اولیاو کم اولیا

XLII, 22/21. bis written without the alif. is inconsistent, writing it with alif here at VII, 171, 170; LXX, 1, but without the alif elsewhere.

is without the alif, which is probably original.

رو کد <sub>is written</sub> رو کد <sub>without the alif.</sub>

40/38. is written without the final *alif*, i.e. which is possibly the original form; but see *Muqni'* 61.

الإنسان 48/47. الإنسان is written with *alif*, as it is in C.

xLIII, 8/7. مضا is written

The general principles of the orthography are thus those of the Kufan School as set forth by ad-Dani in the *Muqni'*, and followed for the most part by the text. It is noticeable, however, that this Samarqand Codex agrees with the *Muqni'* not a few times where departs from its instructions, notably in not expressing the *alif* of the dual ending. In other respects, as Shebunin noted for the C text, it has correspondences with what we know of the old Basran Codex, so that we may safely say that the text is Iraqi in type, as against the Syrian or Hijazi tradition. Where we are able to check its readings against those listed in the *Muqni'*, p. 106 ff. as characteristic of the great Metropolitan Codices, we find that it is almost always in agreement with those of Iraq as against those of the other centres, even in such readings as

for in IV, 36/40 and for in VI, (33, where the Kufan reading is opposed by all the other Codices. The one exception is in XXXVI, 35, where it reads

with and Basra and the majority of Codices, against the which *Muqni'* 113 gives as the reading in the Kufan Codex. An Iraqi origin is also indicated by the writing which was characteristic of the Codex of Ibn Masud, so long influential at Kufa. It agrees with the 'Iraqi Codices in often omitting an *alif* when *hamza* follows (*Muqni'* 21), in reading in XLI, 31 (*Muqni'* 40), in writing (*Muqni'* 40), in reading in XX, 130 (*Muqni'* 51) and in XX, 76/78 even against (*Muqni'* 61, 106), and in reading in XLII, 21/20 (*Muqni'* 61), though it disagrees with 'Iraq on this word in VI, 94.

On the other hand it disagrees with the 'Iraqi Codices in reading for in XVII, 93/95 (Muqni' 18), in reading without the alif in XLIII, 3/2 (Muqni' 20), perhaps in reading in XLII, 22/21 (Muqni' 25), though the page of the MS is defective here, in reading with and the Madinan Codex (Muqni' 51), and in reading instead of in XVIII, 87/88 (Muqni' 61) to agree again with and the Madinan Codex. It disagrees with all the Codices in reading in XXXVII 106 (Muqni' 62), and has one curious agreement with 'Uthman's Codex, the Imam, in reading in IV, 3 (Muqni' 71), though it definitely disagrees with what is recorded of the readings of Uthman's Imam in other passages, e.g. in writing the second alif in XX,63/66 (Muqni' 16).

Other peculiarities, in so far as they are not pure errors, whether of the original scribe, or made during the process of one or other of the renovations of the text, seem to be nothing more than the natural peculiarities of a scribe working at a time when the minutiae of orthography were not so firmly fixed as they later became. One can thus safely date the Codex earlier than the time of ad Dani (444 A.H.), by whose time most of these minutiae had become fixed. The fact that its peculiarities are of the Basra-Kufa circle suggests that it must date from a time when the tradition of those Schools was beginning to take its characteristic form, and this would point the third Islamic century. Shebunin wanted to date both this Codex and C in the second or late first Islamic century, but this would seem too early. The fact that it has no vowel points does not necessarily point to a very early date, for Ibn Abi Dawud (316 A.H.) in his Kitab al-Masahif, p. 141 ff, records the prejudice there was in many circles against putting any marks, whether to distinguish consonants or vowels, in Codices of the Qur'an. In this Codex, as already mentioned, the marks to distinguish consonants are by the original scribe, and not, as in some of the fragments of early Codices known to us, inserted by later hands, and though the scribe of this Codex is spasmodic in his marking of them, the fact that he marks any would point to a date later than that of the earliest Codices. Thus we shall be safe in assigning the Codex to some centre in 'Iraq, probably Kufa, early in the third Islamic century.

### **Footnotes**

It was purchased from a local Russian bookseller, and is apparently one of the twenty-five copies of Pissareff's work which were put on the market, the other twenty-five having been presented to important Libraries and Institutions. It is an excellent copy, clean and complete. The reproduction, it may be mentioned, is the exact size of the original, is on heavy paper, and has an additional ornamental title-page, with the inscription Kalam Sharif, besides the title-page in Russian and French.

*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 63, 1943, pp. 175-195 (New Haven [etc.] American Oriental Society).

**Further reading:** A 'Perfect' Qur'an?, Chapter 9: <u>Samarqand vs. 1924 Edition</u> is a detailed comparison of the Samarqand Codex with the Cairo edition of the Qur'an, not only regarding orthographical questions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See I. Mendelsohn, "The Columbia University Copy of the Samarqand Kufic Qur'an," in *Moslem World* for October, 1940.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Eugene Schuyler, Turkistan (1876), Vol. I, pp. 256, 257; Landsell, Russian Central Asia (1885), Vol. I, p. 582.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Geschichte des Qorantexts, p. 8, n.1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> In *Moscow News* for June 12th, 1941, V. Nagel has an article on rare MSS in the Leningrad Library, and mentions this Codex as though it were still there (p. 20).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The verse numbering is given both according to the Kufan tradition of verse numbering as represented in Egyptian Standard Edition of 1344 A.H = 1925 A.D. hereafter referred to as the text, and 209 in that of Flügel, which is the verse numbering quoted in most European works and almost all European translations of the Qur'an. Where both texts agree only one number is written.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The number of cases may even be more numerous than this, for in many cases the end of a verse comes the edge of a folio, and as the edges are badly broken it is often not possible to ascertain whether any mark for the end of the verse was there or not. In such cases we have assumed that it was, but this may be wrong.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Orthographic und Punktierung des Koran: zwei Schriften von Abu 'Amr Utmam ibn Sa'id ad-Dani, herausgegeben von Otto Pretzl. Istanbul, 1932.